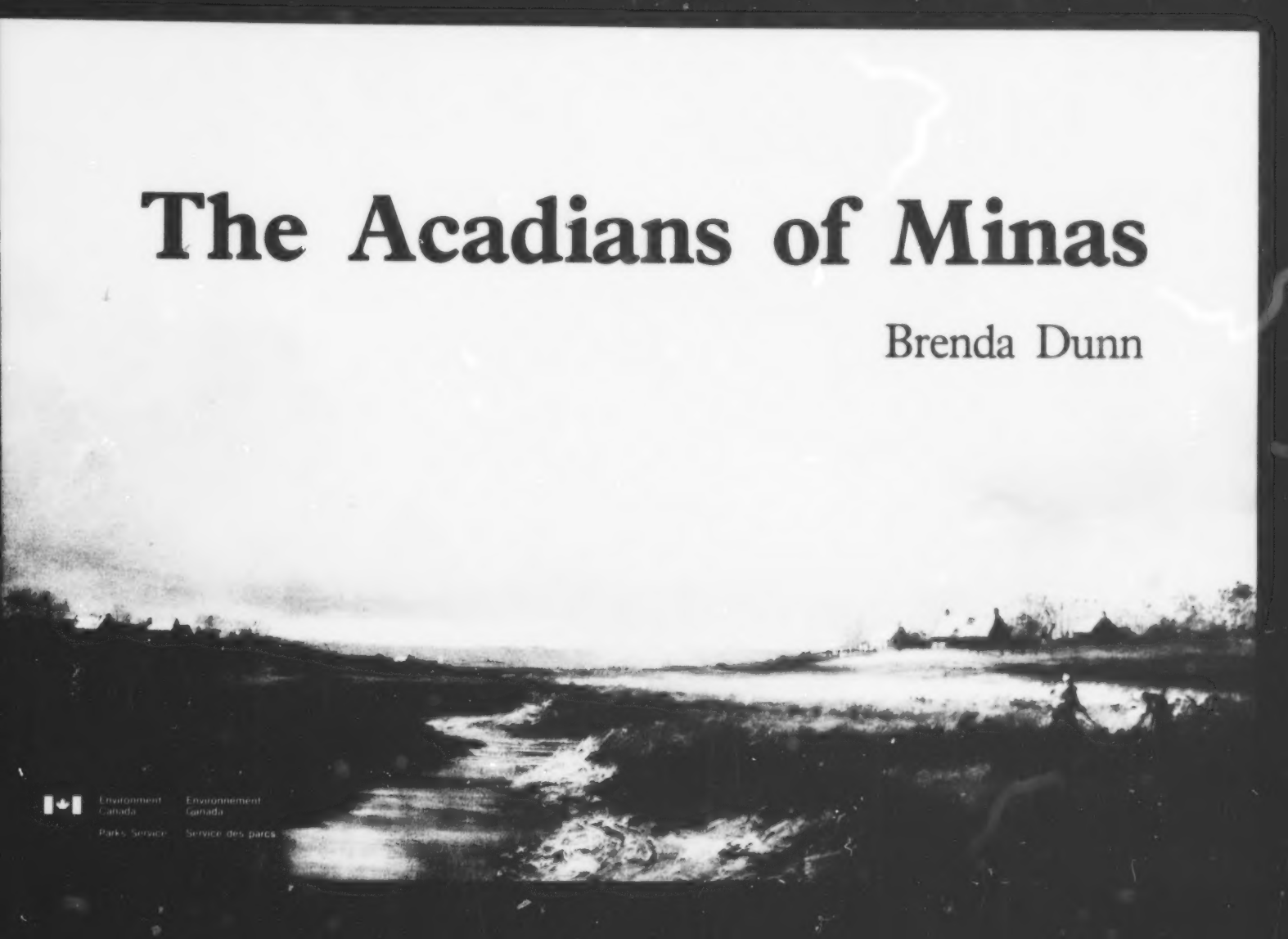
The Acadians of Minas

Brenda Dunn



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Brenda Dunn

Revised Edition

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Architecture and History

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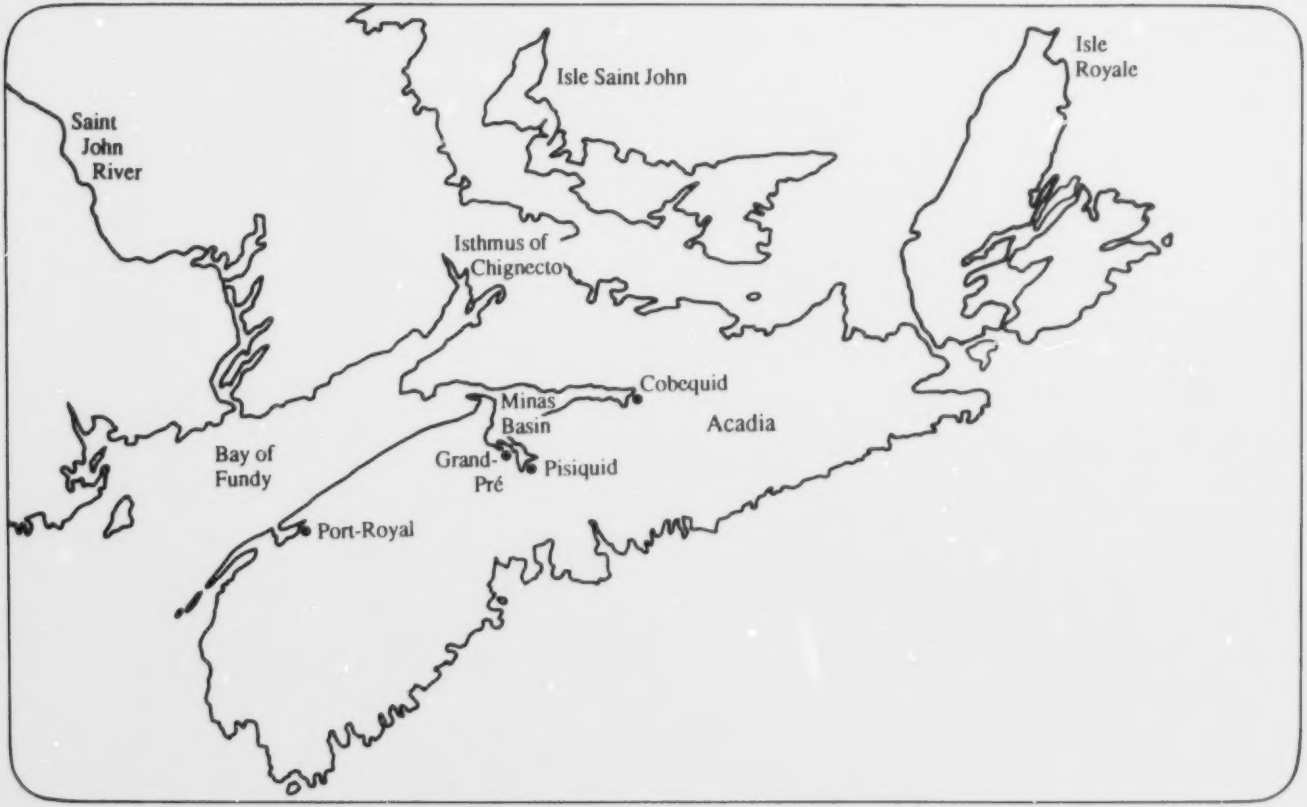
The Acadians of Minas

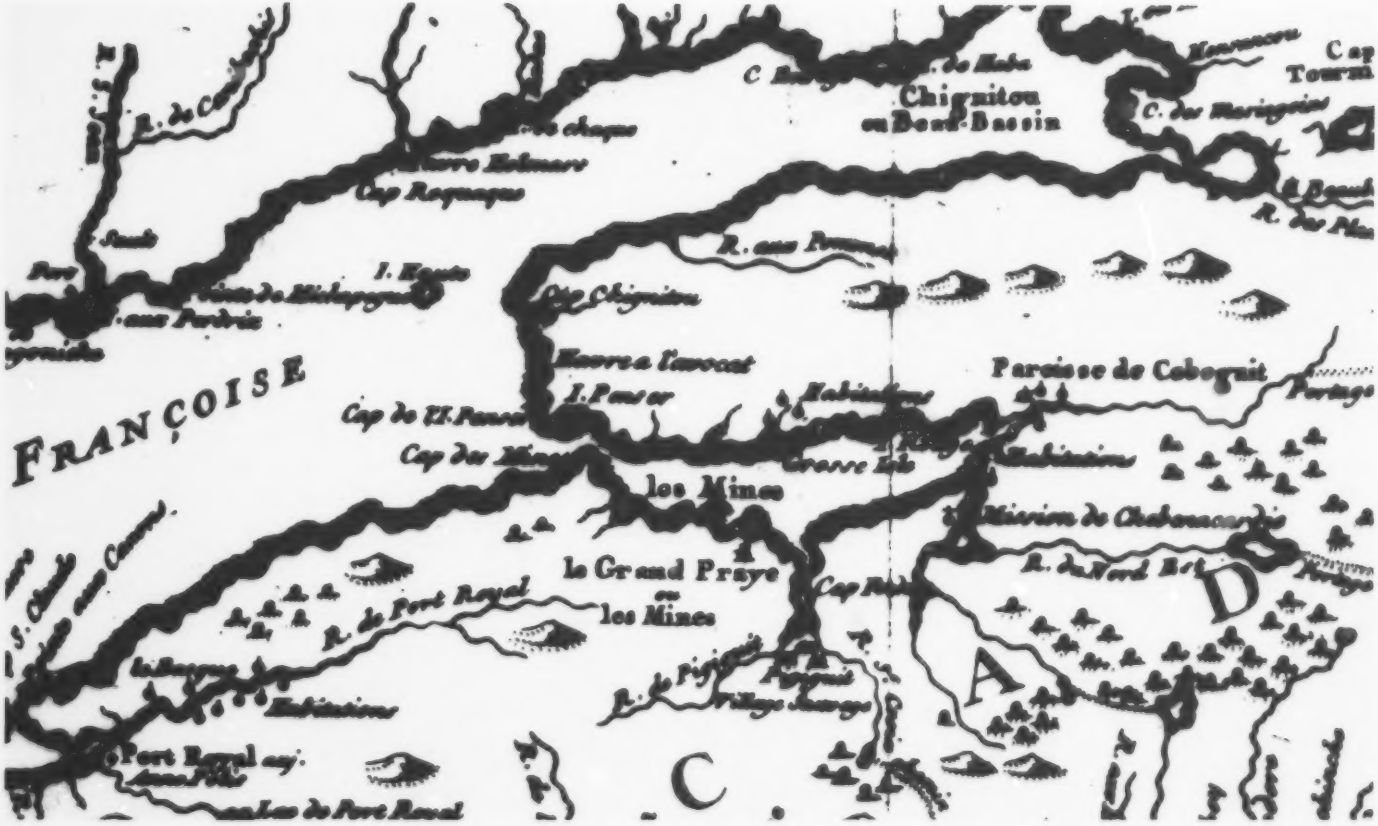

Isle Saint John
Isle
Royale
Saint
John
River
Isthmus of
Chignecto
Cobequid
Minas
Basin
Acadia
Bay of
Fundy
Grand-
Pré
Pisiquid
Port-Royal

The French Regime, 1680s–1713

Early French visitors and settlers called the area around the southeastern arm of the Bay of Fundy "les Mines" because of the copper deposits they found there. The copper was mentioned as early as 1604.[1] Joseph Robinau de Villebon, commandant of the colony of Acadia from 1691 to 1700, had samples of the ore assayed,[2] but development of the resource was never extensive. In 1715 the Acadians were said to use the copper simply to make "spoons, candlesticks and other necessities."[3]

Minas was settled by two Port-Royal families in the early 1680s. Permanent European settlement had begun in Port-Royal in the 1630s and had extended to the Chignecto area in the 1670s. In about 1680 Pierre Melanson *dit* La Verdure, Marie-Marguerite Muis d'Entremont and their children settled at Grand-Pré, while Pierre Terriot and his wife, Cécile Landry, founded a settlement on what is now the Cornwallis River in about 1682.[4]

The Minas communities grew quickly as a result of natural population increase and migration of young people from the Port-Royal area. A census of 1687–88 found some 25 French families, three indentured servants, a priest, and about 15 Indian families in Minas.[5] By 1689 there were 164 people of French origin in Minas, an increase of 51 since 1687–88,[6] and in 1693 there were 305 people in 55 families. By the beginning of the 18th century the Minas area was the most populous of the three principal areas of Acadian settlement, with 506 people in 76 families, compared with 456 people in the Port-Royal area and 188 in the


FRANÇOISE
Chignitou
ou Bout-Bassin
Cap Tourm
C. du Marigouin
Cap Rapaque
Cap Chignitou
Havre a l'avocat
Paroisse de Cobequit
Cap de St. Pierre
les Mines
le Grand Praye
ou
les Mines
Riviere de Chebenacadie
R. de Port Royal
Port Royal ou
Annapolis Royal
A
C
D

Chignecto area.[7] By 1707, the date of the last known census during the French period, the Minas Basin population had reached 660, in approximately 105 families.[8] ("Minas" usually referred to the Minas Basin area although it sometimes was used interchangeably with "Grand-Pré" to mean the principal village. By the early 18th century the Pisiquid and Cobequid areas had grown to the point that they were considered separate districts.)

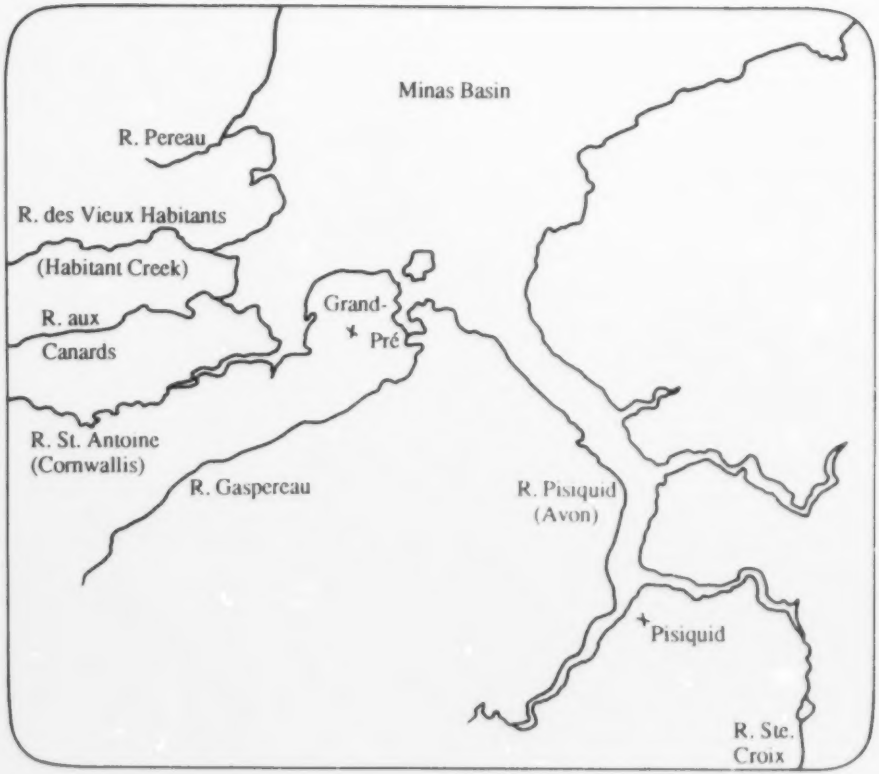
The Minas settlements were concentrated at Grand-Pré and on the rivers that drained into the basin: Rivière Sainte-Croix, Rivière de l'Ascension, Rivière Pisiquid (Avon River), Baye de Cobequid (Truro area), Rivière Saint-Antoine, also known as Rivière des Habitants (Cornwallis River), Rivière "des Gasparots" (Gaspereau River), Rivière aux Canards, and Rivière des Vieux Habitants (Habitant Creek.)[9] The most populous settlement was Grand-Pré.

The appeal of the rich salt marshlands around Minas Basin and a need for security had motivated the Minas migration. Marshlands that could be dyked, drained, and farmed were inviting, especially in a location that was a safe distance from Port-Royal:

> *It seems likely that a desire to escape from a place that was a focus for English attacks and where, due to official surveillance, it was more difficult to conduct the indispensable trade with the New Englanders in the more peaceful interludes, weighed more heavily than any form of seigneurial harassment, land hunger, or resource depletion.*[10]

During the 1690s, when France and Britain were at war and when much of the move occurred, the Port-Royal area was extremely vulnerable. Sir William Phips of Massachusetts had captured Port-Royal, Acadia's capital, in 1690. For almost a decade Port-Royal residents were under the rule of the British, who visited

Detail from "Carte de l'Acadie ... 1744."
National Archives Canada, NMC-19267.


Minas Basin
R. Pereau
R. des Vieux Habitants
(Habitant Creek)
R. aux
Canards
Grand-
Pré
R. St. Antoine
(Cornwallis)
R. Gaspereau
R. Pisiquid
(Avon)
Pisiquid
R. Ste.
Croix

occasionally from Boston, but at the same time were under the control of the French, who had set up a provisional capital on the Saint John River. Both governments expected allegiance but offered no protection against the other. Crews from New England ships destroyed buildings at Port-Royal on at least two occasions in the early 1690s, once when it was learned that the Acadians had renounced their oath to the British crown and once when privateers looted the community.[11] The appearance of a vessel in the Port-Royal Basin sent the residents fleeing into the woods even in 1699, two years after Acadia had been officially restored to France by the Treaty of Ryswick.[12] Life in Minas must have been considerably more peaceful and secure by comparison.

Minas became the principal agricultural centre of Acadia. It was known as the granary of Acadia. The people of Minas, like those in the other settled areas of Acadia, built dykes on the salt marshes and cultivated wheat, rye, oats and peas on the reclaimed land. On the wooded uplands where they made their homes, they planted orchards and gardens of root crops, other vegetables, herbs and hemp. They kept cattle, sheep, pigs, horses and poultry.

Although agriculture was the base of their economy, the Minas settlers pursued other interests too. They were involved in hunting, fishing, lumbering, household industries, and the fur trade. During a visit to the area in 1699, Commandant Villebon noted a sawmill and seven or eight gristmills.[13]

Both legal and illegal trade were important to the area's economy. Illegal trade with New England provided goods that were otherwise unavailable. New England traders brought cloth, hardware, and utensils of British manufacture as well as sugar, molasses, and rum (also acquired through illegal trade) from the French West Indies to be traded for furs and surplus agricultural goods.

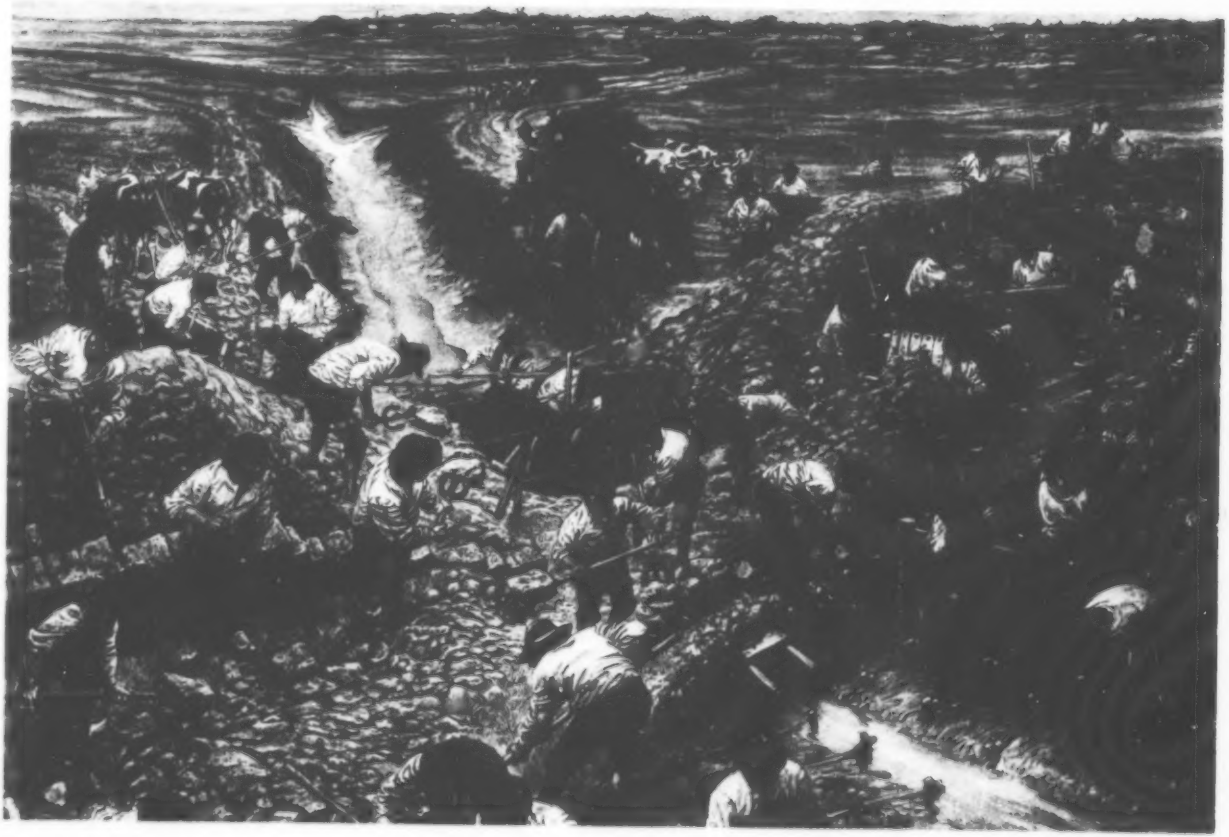
The Roman Catholic church was a constant influence on Acadian life. The parishes of Saint-Charles-des-Mines at Grand-Pré and Saint-Joseph on the Canard River were formed not long after Acadians began to settle in Minas. As settlement grew along the Pisiquid, two new parishes, L'Assumption and Saint-Famille, were added. Sulpician missionaries were succeeded by Recollets who served as parish priests in Minas and the rest of Acadia.

The Custom of Paris, the system of civil law throughout most of New France, directed civilian affairs. Notaries played important roles in the communities. They drew up legal agreements such as sales contracts and marriage contracts. The latter were signed by the engaged couple and the couple's relatives and friends, particularly distinguished friends. Jacques-François de Mombeton de Brouillan, commandant and governor of Acadia from 1701 to 1705, witnessed at least one Minas marriage contract, that of Jean, son of Pierre Melanson, an important community leader.[14]

The re-establishment of the French capital at Port-Royal in 1701, when the administrators and garrison returned from the Saint John River, was accompanied by renewed efforts to control the independent-minded people of Minas. Brouillan organized the men and older boys of Port-Royal, Chignecto, and Minas into militia companies.[15] As in the rest of New France, the companies were meant to assist the *Compagnies franches de la Marine*, in this case the garrison stationed at Port-Royal, in the defence of the colony.

Co-operation between Acadian settlers and the military at Port-Royal became especially important after France and Britain entered the War of the Spanish Succession in May 1702. In 1703 the Minas militia expressed reluctance to go to Port-Royal's defence in the event of attack, and Brouillan dispatched troops to Minas to quell seditious talk of allying with the British.[16] Captain Louis-Simon

Dyke building at Grand-Pré.
Painting by Lewis Parker.



Le Poupet de La Boularderie and a detachment from Port-Royal easily resolved the situation, aided, no doubt, by the fact that the senior militia leader in Minas was Pierre Melanson, La Boularderie's father-in-law.

After the "revolt" in Minas in 1703, Brouillan demonstrated his authority over Minas by ordering a *corvée* (forced free labour) for work on the new fort under construction at Port-Royal. Thirty-nine men from the Minas area each provided 12 days' free labour at the fort, setting an example for the men of Port-Royal who did the same.[17] Two-thirds of the adult male population of Minas would have been involved if all 39 were adults; however, a number of them would probably have been boys over 15 years of age.[18]

Although Port-Royal was the target of most attacks against Acadia during the war, the first attacks, in 1704, focussed on Minas and Chignecto where Acadian settlements were ravaged in retaliation for French and Indian raids against New England settlements. Minas was the hardest hit. Benjamin Church of Massachusetts and his men burned buildings, destroyed orchards and crops, slaughtered livestock, broke dykes, and took prisoners, especially women and children, to exchange for New England prisoners held at Quebec. But the people of at least one settlement — on the Gaspereau River — fought back fiercely and killed several of their attackers. During most of the time that Church was in Minas, British warships blockaded Port-Royal and kept everyone there in constant fear of an attack. Nevertheless, on two occasions Brouillan was able to send men to Minas's assistance although neither party provided any support; the first turned back when they heard a rumour that the New Englanders had left Minas, and the second arrived after Church had indeed departed.[19]

Brouillan tried to secure relief for the stricken Acadian communities from the minister of the Marine, who was in charge of the colonies. (The governor's list of

necessities included flour, other food, wine, tobacco and ammunition.) When the funds for the colony's annual expenses arrived in 1705, 15 000 *livres'* worth of goods was provided for the destitute inhabitants.[20] Since Minas had the largest population and had suffered the most damage, its communities probably received a large portion of the supplies.

In 1708, when the situation at Port-Royal was critical, with another British attack expected and no hope of support from France, Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, who had become governor of Acadia in 1706, brought 50 men from Minas and 30 from Chignecto to Port-Royal to work on the fort and to reinforce the garrison. He also was testing their co-operation — "to accustom them to Discipline and to marching when needed" — and was satisfied with the result.[21] Two attacks on Port-Royal in the summer of 1707 had demonstrated Britain's determination to conquer Port-Royal and, with it, the rest of Acadia.

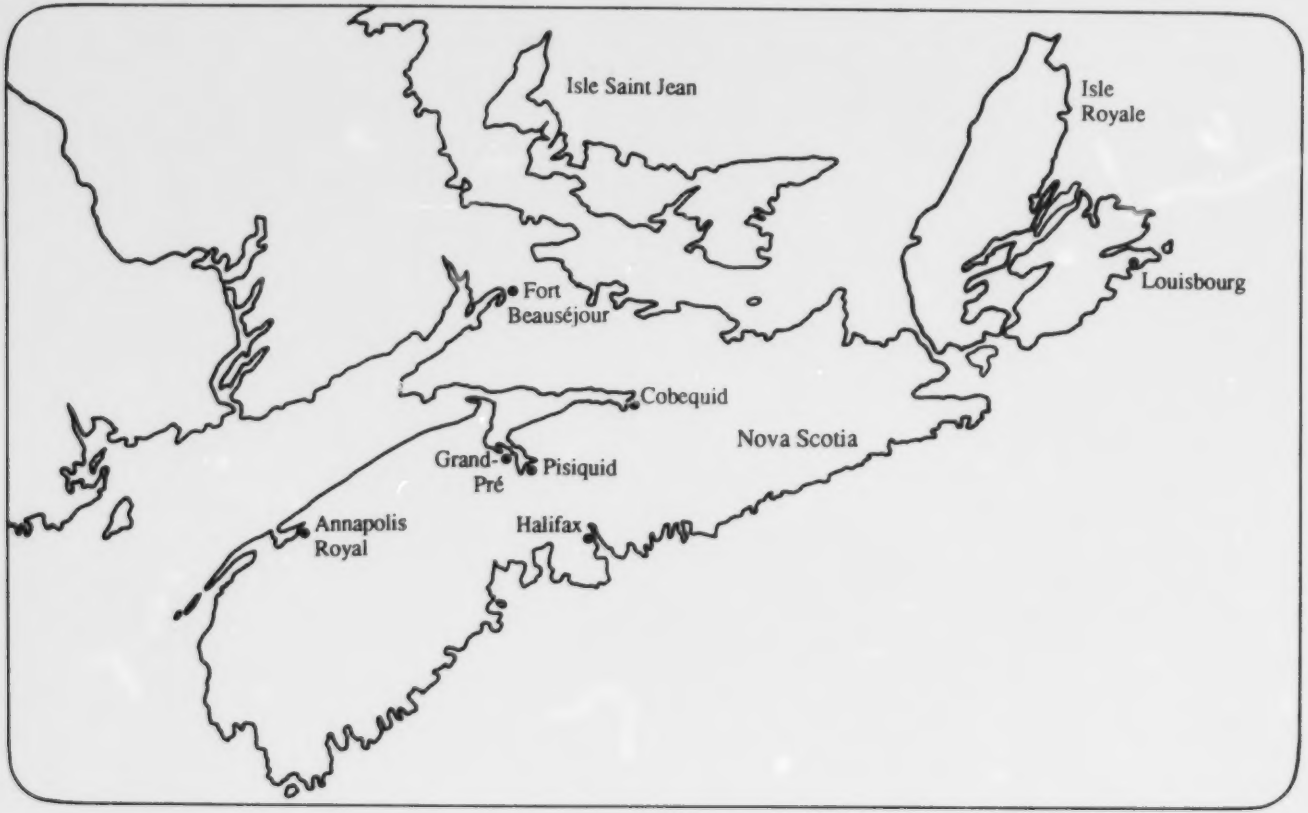
In 1710 a combined force from Britain and New England finally succeeded in capturing Port-Royal. The articles of capitulation ceded to Britain the area within a three-mile radius of the fort, where the British took up residence to govern Acadia. Once again, as in the 1690s, Minas was left in an ambiguous situation, for Britain claimed authority over all of Acadia by right of conquest even though only the Port-Royal area had been formally ceded. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht confirmed Britain in its possession of Port-Royal, renamed Annapolis Royal, and the rest of Acadia, renamed Nova Scotia. The limits of Acadia were loosely defined, resulting in later arguments — generally focussed on the Chignecto area — with France, which claimed jurisdiction over the territory of present-day New Brunswick.

British Rule, 1713–1765

Most residents of Minas chose to remain in British Nova Scotia rather than move to the French colony of Isle Royale (Cape Breton Island) and its dependency, Isle Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island), after the end of the war in 1713. By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Acadians could either move within a year or remain and become British subjects. In practice they did neither: they remained, but consistently resisted swearing an unqualified oath of allegiance to the British crown.

Successive governors and lieutenant governors at Annapolis Royal attempted to obtain oaths of allegiance from the French population of Nova Scotia, but the Acadians adopted a policy of neutrality and refused to change their position. They were not prepared to sign an oath that did not exempt them from bearing arms against the French. In 1727 Ensign Robert Wroth secured signed oaths of allegiance to George II from the residents of Chignecto and Minas, but only after making concessions that the Nova Scotia council condemned as "unwarrantable and dishonourable."[1] In 1730 Governor Richard Philipps succeeded in obtaining oaths of allegiance, apparently by telling the Acadians that they would not have to fight, but withholding knowledge of this concession from the Board of Trade and Plantations in London, which was responsible for the colonies.

Efforts to govern the independent-minded Acadians of Minas frustrated the British even more than it had the French. The Board of Trade's niggardly approach


Isle Saint Jean
Isle
Royale
Louisbourg
Fort
Beauséjour
Cobequid
Nova Scotia
Grand-
Pré
Pisiquid
Annapolis
Royal
Halifax

left the government at Annapolis Royal in a weak, almost embarrassing situation, with a relatively small, often-neglected garrison in a dilapidated fort and without a vessel to reach the scattered Acadian communities — New England trading vessels carried government officials and orders to Minas and Chignecto. The council dealt with the communities through deputies appointed by the local population.

In the 1730s the British government obtained property rights in Nova Scotia by purchasing the old seigneurial rights to Acadia and began to collect quit rents, nominal rents paid by landowners. Alexandre Bourg, the local notary, was appointed collector in Minas in 1730, was replaced by François Mangeant (a man of questionable character from Quebec) in 1737, and was reappointed in 1740.[2] Collecting was difficult and yielded little income: rent from Minas, Pisiquid, and Cobequid in 1740 amounted to only 65-3/4 bushels of wheat, 43 capons, and a small amount of cash.[3]

Minas residents continued to trade with almost total disregard of customs regulations and laws forbidding trade with the French colonies. Agricultural products and furs were traded with New England and with the French settlements on Isle Royale and Isle Saint Jean. One of the French imports mentioned most frequently in official reports on smuggling was woollen cloth, which dispels the myth that local looms made all the cloth the Acadians wore, although certainly both wool and linen were also produced locally.[4]

Wheat from Minas fed the officials, garrison, and staff of the fort at Annapolis Royal and often the British and Acadian populations in the Annapolis Royal vicinity. Food supplied to the fort included wheat and peas, and sometimes beef. On a number of occasions the council ordered that the garrison was to have preference, before the New England traders, in surplus agricultural goods.

The presence of French priests in Nova Scotia did not help the British accept the idea of Acadian neutrality. The Treaty of Utrecht permitted the Acadians to practise their Roman Catholic faith, with the result that parish priests continued to reside in the Acadian communities, leading their parishioners in religious affairs and in some cases mediating minor civil affairs. Since priests were appointed and directed from Quebec, whenever problems arose the British immediately suspected them of having influenced more than spiritual affairs.

The loyalty of the Minas Acadians came under suspicion during the Indian Wars in the 1720s. One of the Indians' first hostile acts occurred at Minas when 13 Indians looted a ship belonging to a New England trader.[5] The local people did nothing to assist him, later attributing their lack of action to their fear of Indian reprisals. After an Indian assault on Annapolis Royal in July 1724, the council expelled Father Félix Pain, the priest at Grand-Pré, for not having notified the authorities of the Indians' plans and presence in Minas, and for actually plotting with them. Father Isidore of Pisiquid was cleared of suspicion and assumed Pain's duties at Grand-Pré.[6]

In 1732 Lawrence Armstrong, then lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, attempted to have a building erected at Minas to accommodate troops "for the better Government of those more Remote parts in the Bay of Fundy."[7] A Minas man, René LeBlanc, was hired to supply the lumber for a "granary," 26 *pieds* by 60 *pieds*, for the king's service.[8] It was not long before the real purpose of the structure became known and three Indians from Pisiquid threatened LeBlanc in his home, in the presence of two British officers, for building a "Fort for the English."[9] The Indians had acquired their information from British traders, including one who was also a member of the council at Annapolis Royal. Obviously, closer official scrutiny was in the best interests of neither the traders nor the

Acadians. Armstrong was determined to complete the building, but whether he did is not known.

The declaration of war between England and France in 1744 brought North America into the War of the Austrian Succession and led to several attempts by France to regain Acadia. Expeditions launched against Annapolis Royal from Canada and Isle Royale camped at Grand-Pré, placing considerable strain on the resources of the Minas area. After an Indian attack on Annapolis Royal in July 1744, the Indians withdrew to Minas, where "they lived at Discretion on the French Inhabitants, killing their Cattle and Poultry."[10] That autumn François Du Pont Duvivier and his men from Louisbourg spent ten days in Minas, attempting to recruit men and commandeer supplies, before marching against Annapolis Royal.[11] The Paul Marin de La Malgue expedition against Annapolis in 1745 spent two weeks in Minas before leaving to support Louisbourg, then under siege.[12] Part of Jean-Baptiste de Ramezay's expedition from Quebec spent the summer and autumn of 1746 in Minas before withdrawing to the disputed area of Chignecto.

Almost immediately after the last of Ramezay's men left, 500 men, led by Colonel Arthur Noble, arrived at Grand-Pré from Annapolis Royal. Consisting primarily of New England auxiliary troops, they had orders to establish a British military presence there, to erect a blockhouse, and then to attack Ramezay's men at Chignecto. Bad weather curtailed their efforts. At the beginning of February 1747 they were still billeted at Grand-Pré and the blockhouse was still in pieces aboard ship, along with most of their supplies. In the early morning of 11 February 300 of Ramezay's men who had travelled overland from Chignecto attacked them, killing Noble and some 70 other officers and men, and wounding and taking a number of others prisoner.[13] The New England troops surrendered, giving the

River Chignecto
River Chignecto
River Chignecto
River Pisiquanacadie
Bay of Fundy

French their only victory in their Nova Scotia campaigns during the War of the Austrian Succession.

British sovereignty was quickly reaffirmed in Minas. The Canadians withdrew within two weeks, after destroying a British ship, the blockhouse frame, and the British arms and ammunition left at Grand-Pré. As soon as the ice began to break up in early April, two transport ships and a warship sailed into Minas Basin with 120 officers and troops from Annapolis Royal. Their leader, Captain John Winslow, had orders to re-establish British authority, to destroy or remove any vessel of potential use to the enemy, to take into custody anyone known to have been in arms with the enemy and, if possible, to escort a deputy from each district to the capital to meet with the council.[14]

Feeding and provisioning the various forces encamped in Minas throughout the war had drawn heavily on the area's resources. In August 1747 the British sent goods worth £10 000 to the Minas area in payment for provisions and labour supplied to Noble's men and for houses burned and fences destroyed during their three-month sojourn in 1747.[15]

Detail from "A Draught of the Upper Part of the Bay of Fundy ... by Charles Morris," circa 1752.
(Public Archives Canada, NMC-218.)

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended the war in 1748 and in 1749 the British finally established a small post at Minas to oversee the Acadians and to keep the Indians in check. It was a fort in name only:

> *This Fort was erected very late in the Fall of [1749].... As it was then too late in the year to build Barracks they were obliged to enclose three French Houses in a Triangular Picketing with half Bastions. The Situation which they were obliged to take up with on Account of these Houses is upon a low flatt Ground Commanded by a Hill, and so*

Exposed to the Weather that in deep Snows it has been often Possible to Walk over the Palisades.[16]

A year after establishing this post, the British constructed Fort Edward at Pisiquid.

The troops at Grand-Pré had one documented encounter with the Indians. In early December 1749 Lieutenant John Hamilton and an 18-man detachment were attacked by Indians and taken prisoner while surveying a marsh near the fort.[17] (A ransom of 17 651 *livres* was demanded for their release from captivity in Quebec in 1751 and the Nova Scotia council agreed to pay it.[18]) In 1754 the fort was abandoned and dismantled, and its garrison transferred to Fort Edward.[19]

By 1750 the estimated population of the Minas area, exclusive of Pisiquid and Cobequid, was 2450. Grand-Pré was the largest settlement with an estimated 1350. The rest of the population was spread along the river communities: 750 at Canard, 125 at Gaspereau, 100 at Rivière des Habitants (Cornwallis River), 75 at Rivière des Vieux Habitants (Habitant Creek), and 50 at Pereau.[20] A population of 1500 was estimated at Pisiquid and 1000 at Cobequid and along the north coast of Nova Scotia. Approximately 10 000 Acadians were living in present-day peninsular Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.[21]

British policy, which had neglected Nova Scotia since 1713, changed after the War of the Austrian Succession demonstrated Nova Scotia's strategic importance. In 1749 a new governor of Nova Scotia, Edward Cornwallis, founded Halifax, which replaced Annapolis Royal as the capital. Halifax was meant to serve as the new British military headquarters and naval base in Nova Scotia and to counterbalance the Fortress of Louisbourg, which had been returned to the French at the end of the war. The establishment of Halifax signalled Britain's new determination to bring Protestant settlers to Nova Scotia and to have the Acadians swear unqualified allegiance.

In 1755 Acting Governor Charles Lawrence and William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, launched the attack that captured Fort Beauséjour, which the French had built in 1750 to reinforce their claim to the Isthmus of Chignecto. In preparation for the attack, Lawrence had prohibited the Acadians the use of their boats, canoes and guns to ensure that they did not assist the French at Beauséjour. An Acadian petition to the Nova Scotia council against this treatment was met with a demand for an unqualified oath of allegiance, which the Acadian deputies at first refused. When the deputies reconsidered, their offer to take the oath was rejected because of their previous refusal and they were imprisoned.

In a meeting on 25 June the governor and council had decided that if the deputies refused the unqualified oath, the Acadians would be deported. The Chignecto Acadians had already been condemned after 200–300 were found in Fort Beauséjour when it surrendered on 16 June. The presence of the 2000 New England troops raised to take Fort Beauséjour provided the necessary manpower to carry out the deportation for the small British garrisons stationed in Nova Scotia could not have done it on their own.

John Winslow, now a colonel in the Massachusetts regiment, oversaw the deportation from the Minas area with the exception of Pisiquid, which was handled by Captain Alexander Murray, commanding officer at Fort Edward. Winslow made his headquarters at Grand-Pré, taking over the priest's house for his own use and erecting a palisade around the house, church and cemetery. On 5 September he assembled the Acadian men and boys down to the age of ten at the church and informed them that they and their families were to be deported: "that your Lands & Tennements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sorts are Forfeited to the Crown with all of your Effects Saving your money and Household Goods and you your Selves to be removed from this ... Province."[22]

The men and boys were imprisoned at the church to await embarkation. Between October and late December 1755, Winslow's men herded some 2200 men, women and children onto transport vessels that sailed for Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.[23] The British troops then destroyed the Acadian villages, with the possible exception of Grand-Pré, where they had their headquarters. After 75 years of Acadian occupation, the lands around Minas Basin were largely deserted.

In the 1760s New England settlers, known as Planters, occupied the former Acadian farmland around Minas Basin. Proclamations issued by the governor and council in late 1758 and early 1759 had invited New Englanders to settle in Nova Scotia. Five agents representing prospective settlers had visited the colony in 1759 and toured the Minas area, and in the same year the townships of Falmouth, Horton, and Cornwallis were created on the western shores of Minas Basin and the Pisiquid River. Most settlers who came to Horton and Cornwallis were from eastern Connecticut. Within the next few years on the southern and eastern shores of the Pisiquid the townships of Windsor and Newport were formed, the latter from East Falmouth. Settlement then flowed into the Cobequid area, Truro and Onslow townships being settled by Planters and Londonderry Township being founded by a group of Ulster Irish. By 1765, when immigration began to decrease rapidly, the population of the Minas townships had reached 2766.[24] The Planters, approximately 8000 of whom settled throughout Nova Scotia between 1760 and 1765, brought to the colony the customs and institutions of New England.[25]

A number of Acadians had eluded deportation and stayed in the Minas area. As they surrendered or were taken into custody they were held at Fort Edward, where an average of 343 Acadians were detained between June 1763 and March 1764.[26] By special arrangement, the Acadians assisted the Planters on the land,

Scourging the land, 1755.
Painting by Dusan Kadlec.

providing cheap, skilled labour, particularly in maintaining and repairing the dykes. After 1764, when Acadians were once again permitted to own land in Nova Scotia, the Planters of the Minas area petitioned the government to continue supplying provisions to the Acadians in a vain attempt to encourage them to remain in the area to work on the Planters' farms.[27]

Few Acadians, if any, remained in the Minas area. They had no choice; their former lands were occupied and the government wanted the former French settlers dispersed in small numbers throughout the province. After 1764 most Acadians — those who had escaped deportation or who had managed to return — settled on vacant lands elsewhere in Nova Scotia and what is now New Brunswick. It was the Planters who now tilled the Minas lands, continuing the dyked-land agriculture begun by the Acadians in the 17th century.

Notes

The French Regime, 1680s–1713

1 Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France by Marc Lescarbot*, trans. and ed. W.L. Grant, intro. Henry P. Biggar (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1907–14), Vol. 2, pp. 233–35.

2 John Clarence Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690–1700, and other Contemporary Documents....* (Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1934), p. 126.

3 Nova Scotia. Council, *Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720–1739*, ed. Archibald M. MacMechan (Halifax: [McAlpine Publishing], 1908), p. 25, Caulfeild, 1 Nov. 1715.

4 Bona Arsenault, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens* (Quebec: Le conseil de la vie française en Amérique, 1965), Vol. 1, pp. 73–75, 516–17; ibid., Vol. 2, p. 736; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966–) (hereafter cited as DCB), Vol. 2, s.v. "Pierre Terriot"; Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia; The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 148.

5 William Inglis Morse, ed., *Acadiensia Nova....* (London: Curwen Press, 1935), Vol. 1, pp. 144–60.

6 Andrew Hill Clark, op. cit., pp. 125–28.

7 Canada. National Archives. Manuscript Division (hereafter cited as NA), MG1, G^1, Vol. 466, No. 24; Margaret Coleman, "The Acadians at Grand Pré," Manuscript Report Series No. 1 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1968), p. 7.

8 NA, MG1, G^1, Vol. 466, No. 26. The data include Minas and Cobequid, which are listed separately. The totals are taken from the recapitulations, with the addition of the wives. There were 578 people in 88 households in Minas and 82 people in 17 households at Cobequid.

9 NA, MG1, G^1, Vol. 466, No. 24; Margaret Coleman, op. cit., p. 7.

10 Andrew Hill Clark, op. cit., p. 139.

11 John Clarence Webster, op. cit., pp. 27, 53; NA, MG1, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies (hereafter cited as DFC), mémoire d'ordre 57, July 1690.

12 Dièreville, *Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France....*, trans. Alice Webster, ed. and intro. John Clarence Webster (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1933), p. 250.

13 John Clarence Webster, op. cit., pp. 132–33. For a full discussion of the agriculture of the Minas area, *see* Andrew Hill Clark, op. cit., pp. 148–51, 158–76.

14 NA, MG1, G^3, Vol. 2040, No. 14, contract de mariage, Jean Melanson and Françoise Bourgeois, 1701.

15 Ibid., $C^{11}D$, Vol. 4, fol. 76, 1701; ibid., fol. 167, 15 Mar. 1702.

16 Ibid., fols. 272–89v, 25 Nov. 1703; DCB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Louis-Simon Le Poupet de La Boularderie."

17 NA, MG1, $C^{11}D$, Vol. 4, fols. 272–80v, 25 Nov. 1703; NA, DFC, No. d'ordre 69o, État des depences...., 12 Oct. 1703.

18 NA, MG1, G^1, Vol. 466, No. 25. The 1703 census divided the boys into those over and under 15.
19 NA, DFC, No. 24, "Journal de ce qui se passe pendant L'attaque que les anglois de Boston ont faitte a la province de l'Acadie," [des Goutins]; NA, MG1, $C^{11}D$, Vol. 5, fols. 8–10v, 1704, "Expedition faittes par les anglois de la Nouvelle Angleterre au Port Royal, Les Mines et Beaubassin a Laccadie."
20 NA, MG1, $C^{11}D$, Vol. 5, fols. 162–81, 30 Nov. 1705.
21 Ibid., Vol. 6, fols. 159–204, 20 Dec. 1708.

British Rule, 1713–1765

1 Nova Scotia. Council, op. cit., p. 168, 13 Nov. 1727.
2 Archibald McKellar MacMechan, ed., *A Calendar of Two Letter-books and One Commission-book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713–1741* (Halifax: [Herald Printing House], 1900), p. 216 (28 Dec. 1737), pp. 217–18, pp. 248–49 (30 Dec. 1740); Nova Scotia. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PANS), MG11, CO217, Vol. 7, fol. 54, 4 Jan. 1733.
3 NA, MG11, Nova Scotia B, Vol. 2, pp. 249–50, quoted in Margaret Coleman, op. cit., p. 31.
4 One of the numerous examples is a report by Lieutenant Governor Doucett that traders from Cape Breton and Isle Royale had been seen in Minas with "great Cargoes of Woolen and Linning" (PANS, MG11, CO217, Vol. 4, fols. 113–14, 29 June 1722).
5 Ibid., Vol. 3, fol. 151–151v, 14 Sept. 1720.
6 Nova Scotia. Council, op. cit., pp. 72–74, 29 Aug. 1724.
7 PANS, MG11, CO217, Vol. 39, pp. 50–52, 15 Nov. 1732.
8 Ibid., Vol. 6, fol. 216v, 11 May 1732. One *pied* equals 1.066 feet or 0.325 metres.
9 Nova Scotia. Council, op. cit., pp. 239–40, 25 July 1732.
10 NA, MG11, CO217, Nova Scotia "A," Vol. 26, pp. 146–47, 27 July 1744.
11 NA, MG1, E169, "Journal Contenant Le détail de La Conduite qui a tenu Monsieur Dupont Duvivier...."
12 William Pote, *The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., during his Captivity in the French and Indian War from May, 1745, to August, 1747*, ed. Victor Paltsits (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1896), pp. 24–30.
13 PANS, RG1, Vol. 13A, No. 16, 27 Feb. 1746/47; ibid., No. 24, 20 Feb. 1746/47; ibid., No. 39; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Parkman Papers IX, pp. 155–63, "Relation d'une expédition faite sur les anglois dans le pays de l'Acadie le 11 février 1747, par un détachement de Canadiens," Le Chevalier de la Corne, 28 Sept. 1747.
14 PANS, MG1, Add. MSS. 19069, p. 30, 25 Mar. 1747; ibid., p. 31, 26 Mar. 1747; PANS, RG1, Vol. 11, pp. 95–100, 12 May 1747.
15 NA, MG21, Add. MSS. 19071, 4 June 1748; ibid., fols. 119–20, 6 Aug. 1748.
16 NA, MG11, CO217, Nova Scotia "A," Vol. 54, pp. 225–26, 5 Dec. 1753.
17 PANS, MG11, CO217, Vol. 9, fols. 197–98, 5 Jan. 1750; ibid., fols. 188–93v, 19 Mar. 1750; ibid., fols. 205–205v, 7 Dec. 1749.
18 NA, MG11, Nova Scotia B, Vol. 4, p. 280, 5 Oct. 1751, quoted in Margaret Coleman, op. cit., p. 70.
19 PANS, MG11, CO217, Vol. 15, fol. 82v, 1 Aug. 1754.
20 Andrew Hill Clark, op. cit., p. 216.
21 Ibid., p. 211.
22 John Winslow, "Journal of Colonel John Winslow....," Nova Scotia Historical Society *Collections*, Vol. 3 (1883), p. 94. Winslow provided a detailed account of the deportation from Grand-Pré and adjoining communities: op. cit., pp. 71–196.
23 Ibid., p. 185.
24 James Stuart Martell, "Pre-Loyalist Settlements around Minas Basin: A History of the Townships of Cornwallis, Horton, Falmouth, Newport, Windsor, Truro, Onslow and Londonderry,

1755–1783," MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1933, pp. 177–78, 318.

25 Virginia Clark, "Settlers of Nova Scotia," Manuscript Report Series No. 172 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1971), pp. 54–70; Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *History of King's County, Nova Scotia*...., reprint of 1910 ed. (Belleville, Ont.: Mika Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 59–89.

26 Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, op. cit., p. 59.

27 NA, MG21, Add. MSS. 19071, fol. 215, "Memorial of the Inhabitants of King's County," 23 Mar. 1765.

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